

**11/2/77 [2]**

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
memo w/ att.	From Brzezinski to The President (2 pp.) re: Speech on Defense Policy/ enclosed in Hutcheson to Brzezinski 11/2/77 <i>Opened 11/193</i>	10/31/77	A
speech	<del>Address before the World Jewish Congress (13 pp.)</del> <del>three copies</del> <i>opened per RAC, 3/1/13</i> <i>(RAC NLC-126-9-31-1-7, NLC-126-9-31-2-6)</i>	11/2/77	A

## FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers- Staff Offices, Office of the Staff Sec.- Pres. Hand-writing File 11/2/77 [2] BOX 57 closed 2/1/90 by GMF

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
November 2, 1977

Zbig Brzezinski

The attached was returned in  
the President's outbox. It is  
forwarded to you for appropriate  
handling.

Rick Huteson

cc: Jody Powell  
Jim Fallows

RE: SPEECH ON DEFENSE POLICY

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
/	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
/		POWELL
		WATSON
		McINTYRE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
/	BRZEZINSKI <i>orig</i>
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
/	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	GAMMILL

	KRAFT
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/2/77

Mr. President:

No comment from Hamilton  
or Jody.

Jim Fallows suggests that  
either this be one of the  
three or four themes in  
the January "State of the  
Union Address," or that  
the speech be saved for  
February or March.

Rick

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1977

*ok to do  
a draft - Time  
of delivery  
will be decided  
later  
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *W.*  
SUBJECT: Speech on Defense Policy

There are many reasons why you may wish to deliver a major speech on defense policy in December or early January..

1. In such a speech you could make an authoritative statement of the defense policies and programs which have been developed during the past year, particularly in PD-18 and in the formulation of the FY 1979 defense budget during the coming weeks. It would thus be the vehicle for communicating to the public the general framework and rationale for the specific program decision which will be revealed in January and would provide guidance and direction for both Congress and the bureaucracy.
2. Assuming agreement is reached on the key elements of SALT in the coming months, this speech would explain the relationship between these agreements and our own new and on-going defense programs.
3. A defense speech would strengthen the public image of you in your role as Commander-in-Chief and would help counter the arguments of those opposed to the Panama Treaty and to SALT that you have been neglectful of our defense posture.
4. It would also answer congressional criticisms, such as those concerning the B-1 and MX in the past several weeks, that we do not have a coherent defense policy and would provide a response to arguments (such as those advanced in the attached letter from Gene Rostow) that you should provide more vigorous leadership in this area.
5. It would usefully balance your other major foreign policy speeches which have emphasized the need to control the arms race and restrict arms proliferation through United States-Soviet Union and multilateral negotiations.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

PER *43/42 NSC HRE* MR-NLC-91-89  
BY *JMS* NARS, DATE *1/7/93*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

6. It could also, particularly if a SALT agreement is reached, provide reassurance to our allies that we are not relaxing our determination or our ability to meet our commitments to them..

Given these reasons why such a speech might well be desirable about the first of the year, I am, unless you object, asking Sam Huntington to work with other members of the NSC Staff in developing ideas and themes for it. Naturally, we will coordinate with Harold.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: October 31, 1977

MEMORANDUM

FOR ACTION:

Hamilton Jordan  
Jody Powell *re my phone*  
Jim Fallows *In safe*

FOR INFORMATION:

The Vice President  
Stu Eizenstat

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: CONFIDENTIAL

Brzezinski memo dated 10/31 re Speech on Defense Policy

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED  
TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 12:00 Noon

DAY: Wednesday

DATE: November 2, 1977

*In safe*

ACTION REQUESTED:

☒ Your comments

Other:

STAFF RESPONSE:

☐ I concur.

☐ No comment.

Please note other comments below:

*no reason  
for delay*

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

/	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
	/	MONDALE
		COSTANZA
	/	EIZENSTAT
/		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
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	ENROLLED BILL
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	POSTON
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	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1977

TO: RICK HUTCHESON  
FROM: JIM FALLOWS *JFW*  
SUBJECT: Brzezinski Memo dated 10/31 re Speech on  
Defense Policy

All of the reasons sound sensible to me, but I think the timing will crowd the President's schedule. He has said ok to Brzezinski's suggestion for a fireside chat at the end of the foreign trip, in early December. He's going to Plains for Christmas, which in any case is not the best time for a defense speech. The State of the Union will be in the middle of January.

My suggestions:

- 1) Make this one of the three or four themes the President discusses in the State of the Union; or
- 2) Save the speech for February or March.

Date: October 31, 1977

MEMORANDUM

## FOR ACTION:

Hamilton Jordan  
Jody Powell  
Jim Fallows

## FOR INFORMATION:

The Vice President  
Stu Eizenstat

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT:

CONFIDENTIAL

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Policy

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TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 12:00 Noon

DAY: Wednesday

DATE: November 2, 1977

## ACTION REQUESTED:

☒ Your comments

Other:

## STAFF RESPONSE:

☐ I concur.☐ No comment.*Please note other comments below:*

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
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1. In such a speech you could make an authoritative statement of the defense policies and programs which have been developed during the past year, particularly in PD-18 and in the formulation of the FY 1979 defense budget during the coming weeks. It would thus be the vehicle for communicating to the public the general framework and rationale for the specific program decision which will be revealed in January and would provide guidance and direction for both Congress and the bureaucracy.
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5. It would usefully balance your other major foreign policy speeches which have emphasized the need to control the arms race and restrict arms proliferation through United States-Soviet Union and multilateral negotiations.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

PER 12/12 NLC/Hr RE MR-NLC-91-89  
BY *[Signature]* NARS, DATE 11/1/93

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

6. It could also, particularly if a SALT agreement is reached, provide reassurance to our allies that we are not relaxing our determination or our ability to meet our commitments to them.

Given these reasons why such a speech might well be desirable about the first of the year, I am, unless you object, asking Sam Huntington to work with other members of the NSC Staff in developing ideas and themes for it. Naturally, we will coordinate with Harold.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 19, 1977

President Jimmy Carter  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

The Executive Committee of the Committee on the Present Danger appreciated our meeting last Friday, September 16, with Samuel Huntington, of your National Security Council staff. Pursuant to your request at our meeting on August 4, he came to explain the several steps which led to your assessment of Soviet policy, and your decisions in PD-18 of August 26.

After a thorough and spirited discussion of the main problems, we expressed these general preliminary reactions to him:

- (1) On the basis of Mr. Huntington's exposition, the thrust and tenor of PD-18 appeared promising to us, but we believe its background and content should be explained to the American people, and to world opinion, in a major speech by you, and not through leaks to the press, or speeches by the Secretary of Defense, however constructive;
- (2) We should be glad to respond to your request on August 4 for our appraisal of your assessment of Soviet intentions and capabilities, when we have studied the relevant documents, and discussed them further with your associates;
- (3) We were unable to reconcile the policy of PD-18, as Mr. Huntington explained it, with other aspects of the ongoing foreign and defense policies of the Administration, including the withdrawal of conventional forces from Korea; the apparent willingness of the Administration to consider denouncing the Security Treaty with Taiwan; the positions taken in the SALT negotiations; and the contents of the defense budget, including its provisions for strategic weapons and naval strength; and
- (4) We noted with interest that according to Mr. Huntington, Era II in Soviet-American relations, starting with the October, 1973, war in the Middle East, is considered to be more dangerous for

continue....

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

PER 10/12/84 BY [signature] RE AD-11C-41-84  
MARS. DATE 11/19/83



President Jimmy Carter  
September 19, 1977  
Page 2

us than the period which preceded it, and that the operating premise of PD-18 is that the Soviet Union will take advantage of every opportunity for the expansion of its power and influence unless deterred by unacceptable risk.

With great respect, and every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

*Eugene V. Rostow*

Eugene V. Rostow  
Chairman, Executive Committee

EVR/SM

cc: Mr. Huntington

~~Confidential~~ CC: Zb's Borjessica  
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS  
Return to me  
before 1:00 pm  
J

I am deeply honored to receive this award. I accept it with a special sense of gratitude because of the organization from which it comes and the man for whom it is named.

For more than half a century Nahum Goldmann has been an intellectual and political leader and a fighter for the rights of all people. His career is proof that a man who is outspoken and controversial can still be a brilliant and effective <sup>statesman</sup> diplomat. As the head of this organization and many others, he has played a more significant role in world affairs than many heads of state. He is stepping down from the presidency of the World Jewish Congress, but his presence will remain, for he is the kind of man whose moral authority transcends titles or offices.

The World Jewish Congress has always sought to promote human rights in a universal way. In this it is faithful to the ethical tradition from which it springs. For Jewish teaching helped to create the consciousness of human rights that is, I believe, now growing everywhere on earth.

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

Rel : ZB  
Black : Stuy, et Bob.

Green - VP  
Vance - pencil

DECLASSIFIED  
Per: Rac Project  
ESDN: NLC-126-9-31-1-7  
BY: 145 NARA, DATE 2/21/13

← Code


In large measure, the beginnings of our modern conceptions of human rights go back to the laws and the prophets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. I have been steeped in the Bible since early childhood. And I believe that anyone who reads the ancient words of the Old Testament with sensitivity and care will find there the idea of government as something that is based on a voluntary covenant rather than force -- the idea of equality before the law and the supremacy of law over the whims of rulers -- the idea of the dignity of the individual human being and the individual conscience -- the idea of service to the poor and oppressed -- the ideas of self-government and tolerance and of nations living together in peace despite differences of belief.

I know also that the memory of Jewish persecution <sup>especially of the Holocaust</sup> and suffering lends a special quality to your commitment to human rights. This organization made a major contribution to insuring that human rights became part of the Charter of the United Nations as one of its three basic purposes, along with the preservation of the peace and social and economic progress. The principal authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were Eleanor Roosevelt, an American; <sup>Protestant</sup> Charles Malik, a Lebanese <sup>Greek Catholic</sup> Christian; and Rene Cassin, a French Jew.

Because of their work and the work of others since, no government can pretend that ~~its~~ mistreatment of its own citizens is solely an internal affair. These accomplishments helped start a process by which governments can be <sup>moved</sup> prodded toward exemplifying the ideals they have publicly professed.

Our actions in the field of human rights must vary according to the appropriateness and effectiveness of one kind of action or another, but our judgments must be made according to a single standard. Oppression is ~~not~~ less reprehensible when its victims are blacks in South Africa or American Indians in the Western Hemisphere or Jews in the Soviet Union or dissenters in Chile or Czechoslovakia.

The public demonstration of our commitment to human rights is one of <sup>five</sup> four major goals that my administration has set for U.S. foreign policy. Our emphasis on this first goal is already helping to overcome the crisis of the ~~the~~ spirit which has lately afflicted the West.

Second, we are trying to build a more cooperative international system. We have consulted closely with our allies, placed relations on a new footing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and searched for new areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union. 

Third

← Cooperation and restraint are especially important in the area where we and the Soviets now most intensely compete -- in the race for nuclear weapons. We must <sup>halt</sup> bring that race under control. ~~Third, Fourth~~ We are also addressing <sup>the</sup> other global problems which threaten <sup>of people everywhere</sup> our mutual well-being and security. These include nuclear proliferation, transfers of conventional arms, and the questions of energy, food, and environment which face all nations of the world.

Fifth

Fourth, we are seeking solutions to regional conflicts that can do incalculable damage if not resolved. Our efforts to sign a new treaty with Panama are one example; bringing about peaceful change in Southern Africa is another. But none is more important than finding peace in the Middle East.

Sixty years ago today, November 2nd, 1917, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, informed Lord Rothschild of his government's support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." At that time, the idea seemed visionary and few dared to believe that it could be translated into reality. But today Israel is a vital force, an independent and democratic Jewish state, whose national existence is <sup>accepted</sup> no longer in question and whose security is stronger in Palestine.

than ever before. We are proud to be Israel's firm friend and ~~closest~~ partner <sup>and we shall stand by Israel</sup> always.

Despite its great accomplishments, however, Israel has yet to realize the cherished goal of living in peace with its neighbors. Some would say that peace cannot be achieved because of the accumulated mistrust and the deep emotions dividing Israelis and Arabs. Some would say that we must realistically resign ourselves to the prospect of unending struggle and conflict in the Middle East.

With such an attitude of resignation, Israel would never have been created, and with such an attitude peace <sup>would</sup> will not be achieved. What is needed is both vision and realism, so that strong leadership can transform the hostility of the past into a peaceful and constructive future. This was the <sup>vision</sup> success of Zionism <sup>the</sup> in <sup>the movement</sup> the first generation after the Balfour Declaration; and it can be the <sup>achievement</sup> success of Israel in its second generation as an independent state.

Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors. All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our own country. We cannot merely be idle bystanders.



Our friendships and our interests require that we continue to devote ourselves to the cause of peace in this most dangerous region of the world.

Earlier this year, I outlined the <sup>elements</sup> requirements of a comprehensive peace, not in order to impose my views on the parties, but rather as a way of <sup>beginning a dialogue</sup> defining <sup>between the parties on</sup> the <sup>issues</sup> elements of an overall settlement <sup>which</sup> that would have <sup>resolved</sup> to be achieved through detailed negotiations.

I continue to believe that the <sup>three</sup> key issues are, <sup>first</sup>, the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; <sup>second</sup>, the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement on final, recognized and <sup>secure</sup> ~~defensible~~ borders; and <sup>third</sup>, a resolution of the Palestinian question. \* WB  
Those questions are interrelated in complex ways, and for peace to be achieved, all will have to be resolved.

Recently, our diplomatic efforts have focused on establishing a framework for negotiations so that the parties themselves will become engaged in the resolution of the many substantive issues that have divided them for so long. We can offer our good offices as

mediators. We can make suggestions, but we cannot do the negotiating.

For serious peace talks to begin, I believe that a reconvening of the Geneva Conference has become essential. All the parties have accepted the idea of comprehensive negotiations at Geneva, and agreement has been reached on several important procedural arrangements.

Israel has shown flexibility and statesmanship in <sup>ed</sup> accepting for Geneva the idea of a unified Arab delegation which will include Palestinians, and in agreeing to discuss the future of the West Bank and Gaza in a working group with Jordan, Egypt, and the Palestinian Arabs. This can provide the means for the Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace, and this represents a positive and constructive step. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate without preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that others must accept if peace talks are to succeed.

For their part, the Arab states have also shown good faith and moderation. ~~They recognize Israel's~~

*recognized Israel's*

*rights as a*

*sovereign state*

~~status as a nation.~~ They are <sup>increasingly</sup> willing to work on <sup>to reach</sup> bilateral peace treaties, and to form individual <sup>negotiate settlements of all issues in dispute</sup> working groups to negotiate settlement of border and other disputes. ~~They are willing to accept the procedural agreements hammered out in 1973 at the first Geneva Conference.~~ No longer do they refuse to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, nor do they dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past.

Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace, a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory. Yet today such <sup>negotiations</sup> are within reach -- and I am proud of the progress that has been <sup>achieved</sup> made to make this dream possible.

To improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations, mutual suspicions <sup>must</sup> ~~will have to be~~ <sup>further</sup> reduced. One source of Arab concern about Israeli intentions has been the establishment of civilian settlements in territories currently under occupation, which we consider to be in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, the Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. The continuing refusal of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> of Israel's right to exist, along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified.

*→ Omit* \* The rights of the Palestinians and the refugees must be assured, <sup>but on a basis acceptable to all states,</sup> but we do not favor an independent <sup>including Israel.</sup> Palestinian state on the West Bank, nor will we deal with <sup>the PLO until it accepts UN 242, including the right of all states to exist.</sup> *Cut or expand*

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to use its influence constructively.

*this original wording could precipitate Assad's refusal to attend Geneva.*

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the <sup>influence</sup> ~~resources~~ of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not <sup>impose our</sup> ~~apply~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~pressure~~ <sup>on</sup> any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

Our relations with Israel will remain strong. Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grants or concessional loans. The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history. It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. It is an excellent investment for us. Our aid will continue.

As difficult as peace through negotiations will be in the Middle East, the alternative of stalemate and conflict is infinitely worse. The costs of another war would be staggering, in both human and economic terms. Peace, by contrast, offers great hope to the peoples of the Middle East who have already contributed so much to civilization. Peace -- which must include a permanent and secure Jewish State of Israel -- has a compelling logic for the Middle East. It could begin to bring Arabs and Israelis together in creative ways to produce

a prosperous and stable region. The prospect of coexistence and of cooperation could revive the spirits of those who have for so long ~~thought~~ only of violence and the hope for survival. ~~Peace will lift from Israel the enormous defense burdens of defence, and uplift its standard of living.~~

The idea of peace in the Middle East is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917. But it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper.

We <sup>may be</sup> ~~probably~~ <sup>in</sup> face now the best opportunity for a permanent <sup>Middle E-S</sup> peace settlement in our lifetime. We must not let it slip away. Well meaning leaders in Israel, in the Arab nations, and indeed throughout the world are making an unprecedented and concerted effort to resolve <sup>deep-seated</sup> ~~ancient~~ differences in the Middle East. It is not a time for personal abuse or partisanship or political demagoguery. It is a time for strong leadership and a willingness to explore carefully the intentions of others.

It is a time to use the mutual strength and the unique partnership between Israel and the United States -- and the influence of you and others who have a deep interest and concern -- to guarantee a strong and

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partisanship  
in  
interpolated  
remark



permanently secure Israel -- at peace with her neighbors, and able to contribute her tremendous resources toward the realization of human rights and a better and more peaceful life throughout the world.

The Old Testament, that book of books which means so much to all of us, offers a vision of what that kind of peace might mean in its deepest sense. I leave you with these lines of Micah -- lines to which no summary or paraphrase could possibly do justice:

In the end of days it shall come to pass,  
That the mountain of the Lord's house shall  
be established on the top of the mountains,  
And it shall be exalted above the hills.  
Peoples shall flow unto it,  
And many nations shall come and say,  
"Come, let us go up to the mountain of the  
Lord,  
To the house of the God of Jacob;  
So that he may teach us of his ways,  
And we will walk in his paths;  
For the law shall go forth from Zion,  
And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."  
And He shall judge among many peoples,  
And rebuke strong nations afar off;

They shall beat their swords into plowshares  
And their spears into pruning-hooks;  
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
Neither shall they learn war any more.  
They shall sit every man under his vine and  
under his fig tree;  
And none shall make them afraid;  
For the mouth of the Lord of hosts has  
spoken it.  
For as all the peoples walk every one in the  
name of his god,  
We will walk in the name of the Lord our  
God for ever.

However we may falter -- however difficult the  
task -- it is our duty to walk together toward the  
realization of that majestic prophesy.

# # #

~~Confidential~~  
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Jody & Nam  
Return to me  
before 1:00 p.m.  
medal. J

I am deeply honored to receive this [award] I accept it with a special sense of gratitude because of the organization from which it comes and the man for whom it is named.

For more than half a century Nahum Goldmann has been <sup>a scholar</sup> ~~an intellectual~~ and <sup>a statesman</sup> ~~a political leader~~ and a fighter for the rights of all people. His career is proof that a man who is outspoken and controversial can still be a brilliant and effective diplomat. As the head of this organization and many others, he has played a more significant role in world affairs than many heads of state. He is stepping down from the presidency of the World Jewish Congress, but his presence will remain, for he is the kind of man whose moral authority transcends titles or offices.

The World Jewish Congress has always sought to promote human rights in a universal way. In this it is faithful to the ethical tradition from which it springs. and the Jewish historical experience For Jewish teaching helped to create the consciousness of human rights that is, I believe, now growing everywhere on earth.

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DECLASSIFIED  
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ESDN: NLC-126-9-31-1-7  
BY 123 NARA DATE 2/21/13

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Because of their work and the work of others since, no government can pretend that its mistreatment of its own citizens is solely an internal affair. These accomplishments helped start a process by which governments can be prodded toward exemplifying the ideals they have publicly professed.

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The public demonstration of our commitment to human rights is one of four major goals that my administration has set for U.S. foreign policy. <sup>THAT</sup> Our emphasis on Human Rights <sup>has raised the level of consciousness around the world and</sup> [this first goal] is already helping to overcome the crisis of the ~~the~~ spirit which has lately afflicted the West.

Second, we are trying to build a more cooperative international system. We have consulted closely with our allies, placed relations on a new footing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and searched for new areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union. —

[Cooperation and restraint are especially important]

*particularly* in the area where we and the Soviets now most intensely compete -- in the race for nuclear weapons. We must bring that race under control. *\*→* We are also addressing other global problems which threaten our mutual well-being and security. These include nuclear proliferation, transfers of conventional arms, and the questions of energy, food, and environment which face all nations of the world.

Fourth, we are seeking solutions to regional conflicts that can do incalculable damage if not resolved. Our efforts <sup>toward</sup> ~~to sign~~ a new treaty with Panama are one example; bringing about peaceful change in Southern Africa is another. But none is more important than finding peace in the Middle East.

Sixty years ago today, November 2nd, 1917, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, informed Lord Rothschild of his government's support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." At that time, the idea seemed visionary and few dared to believe that it could be translated into reality. But today Israel is a vital force, an independent and democratic Jewish state, whose national existence is no longer in question and whose security is stronger



11/2/77

## INSERT A

At the same time that we seek cooperation we recognize that competition is also a fact of international life and we ~~have~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~publicly declared our intention to~~ remain capable of defending the legitimate interests of our people.

(Our foreign policy utterances tend to be too soft - we need some element of strength and firmness in anything we say.)

than ever before. [We are proud to be Israel's firm friend and closest partner.] (if insert below is accepted) \*

Despite its great accomplishments, however, Israel has yet to realize the cherished goal of living in peace with its neighbors. Some would say that peace cannot be achieved because of the accumulated mistrust and the deep emotions dividing Israelis and Arabs. Some would say that we must realistically resign ourselves to the prospect of unending struggle and conflict in the Middle East.

With such an attitude of resignation, Israel would never have been created, and with such an attitude peace will not be achieved. What is needed is both vision and realism, so that strong leadership can transform the hostility of the past into a peaceful and constructive future. This was the success of Zionism in the first generation after the Balfour Declaration; and it can be the success of Israel in its second generation as an independent state.

Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors. \* [All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our own country.] We cannot merely be idle bystanders.

Insert  
B

11/2/77

Insert B

The United States plays two roles in the M.E.

First, we are the staunchest friend and most dependable supporter of Israel in the world.

Second, we occupy the position of mediator and peacemaker, which requires a degree of confidence from all the parties involved.

✓ Those two roles inevitably At times produce conflict and controversy, but we cannot abandon either.

To abandon our friendship for Israel would be immoral and unthinkable.

To abandon our role as peacemaker and mediator would be disastrous for the United States and for Israel.

Our friendships and our interests require that we continue to devote ourselves to the cause of peace in this most dangerous region of the world.

Earlier this year, I outlined the requirements of a comprehensive peace, not in order to impose <sup>American</sup> [my] views on the parties, but rather as a way of defining the elements of an overall settlement that would have to be achieved through detailed negotiations.

I continue to believe that the key issues are the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement on final, recognized and defensible borders; and a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those questions are interrelated in complex ways, and for peace to be achieved, all will have to be resolved.

Recently, our diplomatic efforts have focused on establishing a framework for negotiations so that the parties themselves will become engaged in the resolution of the many substantive issues that have divided them for so long. We can offer our good offices as

mediators. We can make suggestions, but we cannot do the negotiating.

For serious peace talks to begin, [I believe that] a reconvening of the Geneva Conference has become essential. All the parties have accepted the idea of comprehensive negotiations at Geneva, and agreement has been reached on several important procedural arrangements.

Israel has shown flexibility and statesmanship in accepting for Geneva the idea of a unified Arab delegation which will include Palestinians, and in agreeing to discuss the future of the West Bank and Gaza in a working group with Jordan, Egypt, and the Palestinian Arabs. This can provide the means for the Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace, and this represents a positive and constructive step. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate without preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that others must accept if peace talks are to succeed.

For their part, the Arab states have also shown good faith and moderation. They recognize Israel's

status as a nation. They are willing to work on bilateral peace treaties, and to form individual working groups to negotiate settlement of border and other disputes. They are willing to accept the procedural agreements hammered out in 1973 at the first Geneva Conference. No longer do they refuse to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, nor do they dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past.

Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace, a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory. Yet today such negotiations are within reach -- and I am proud of the progress that has been made to make this dream possible.

*But* To improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations, mutual suspicions <sup>*must*</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>*be*</sup> ~~have to~~ be reduced. One source of Arab concern about Israeli intentions has been the establishment of civilian settlements in territories currently under occupation, which we consider to be in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, the Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. The continuing refusal of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242, or Israel's right to exist, along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified.

The rights of the Palestinians and the refugees must be assured, but ~~we have made clear that the U.S. does~~ ~~we do not~~ favor an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank.

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to use its influence constructively.

Don't want this to sound  
like new statement

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the resources of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not impose our will on ~~apply~~ pressure to any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

*(This is not a credible statement is it?)*

Our relations with Israel will remain strong. Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grants or concessional loans.

*(why not say what portion of our total foreign aid goes to Israel, isn't it quite large?)*

The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history. It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. It is an excellent investment for us. Our aid will continue.

As difficult as peace through negotiations will be in the Middle East, the alternative of stalemate and conflict is infinitely worse. The costs of another war would be staggering, in both human and economic terms. Peace, by contrast, offers great hope to the peoples of the Middle East who have already contributed so much to civilization. Peace -- which must include a permanent and secure Jewish State of Israel -- has a compelling logic for the Middle East. It could begin to bring Arabs and Israelis together in creative ways to produce



a prosperous and stable region. The prospect of coexistence and of cooperation could revive the spirits of those who have for so long ~~thought~~ <sup>struggle</sup> only of violence and the ~~hope~~ <sup>struggle</sup> for survival.

The idea of peace in the Middle East is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917. But it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper.

We probably face now the best opportunity for a permanent peace settlement in our lifetime. We must not let it slip away. Well meaning leaders in Israel, in the Arab nations, and indeed throughout the world are making an unprecedented and concerted effort to resolve ancient differences, [in the Middle East.] [It is not a time for personal abuse or partisanship or political demagoguery.] \* It is a time for strong leadership and a willingness to explore carefully the intentions of others.

Insert C.

It is a time to use the mutual strength and the unique partnership between Israel and the United States -- and the influence of you and others who have a deep interest and concern -- to guarantee a strong and

11/2/77

## Insert C

It is a difficult time for us all, but it is not a time when we can afford to stoop to invective or partisanship or political rhetoric.

("demagoguery" is too strong and "personal abuse" sounds a little like we are crying.)

permanently secure Israel -- at peace with her neighbors, and able to contribute her tremendous resources toward the realization of human rights and a better and more peaceful life throughout the world.

The Old Testament, that book of books which means so much to all of us, offers a vision of what that kind of peace might mean in its deepest sense. I leave you with these lines of Micah -- lines to which no summary or paraphrase could possibly do justice:

In the end of days it shall come to pass,

That the mountain of the Lord's house shall  
be established on the top of the mountains,

And it shall be exalted above the hills.

Peoples shall flow unto it,

And many nations shall come and say,

"Come, let us go up to the mountain of the  
Lord,

To the house of the God of Jacob;

So that he may teach us of his ways,

And we will walk in his paths;

For the law shall go forth from Zion,

And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

And He shall judge among many peoples,

And rebuke strong nations afar off;

They shall beat their swords into plowshares  
And their spears into pruning-hooks;  
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
Neither shall they learn war any more.  
They shall sit every man under his vine and  
under his fig tree;  
And none shall make them afraid;  
For the mouth of the Lord of hosts has  
spoken it.  
For as all the peoples walk every one in the  
name of his god,  
We will walk in the name of the Lord our  
God for ever.

However we may falter -- however difficult the  
~~task~~ <sup>path</sup> -- it is our duty to walk together toward the  
~~fulfillment~~ <sup>fulfillment</sup> of that majestic prophesy.

# # #

so you should memorize  
you can deliver directly  
into camera you  
looking down. just

MR. PRESIDENT -

A VERY FINE  
SPEECH. THE TONE  
IS GOOD - STRONG,  
POSITIVE AND VISIONARY.  
FEW SUGGESTIONS IN RED

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

*Confidential*

*Today & Home  
Return to me  
before 1:00 p.m.  
J*

ON PAGES 5,  
9 + 10.

*H.J.*

I am deeply honored to receive this award. I accept it with a special sense of gratitude because of the organization from which it comes and the man for whom it is named.

For more than half a century Nahum Goldmann has been an intellectual and political leader and a fighter for the rights of all people. His career is proof that a man who is outspoken and controversial can still be a brilliant and effective diplomat. As the head of this organization and many others, he has played a more significant role in world affairs than many heads of state. He is stepping down from the presidency of the World Jewish Congress, but his presence will remain, for he is the kind of man whose moral authority transcends titles or offices.

The World Jewish Congress has always sought to promote human rights in a universal way. In this it is faithful to the ethical tradition from which it springs. For Jewish teaching helped to create the consciousness of human rights that is, I believe, now growing everywhere on earth.

DECLASSIFIED  
Per: Rac Project  
ESDN: NLC-129-9-31-2-6  
BY KS NARA DATE 3/21/13

In large measure, the beginnings of our modern conceptions of human rights go back to the laws and the prophets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. I have been steeped in the Bible since early childhood. And I believe that anyone who reads the ancient words of the Old Testament with sensitivity and care will find there the idea of government as something that is based on a voluntary covenant rather than force -- the idea of equality before the law and the supremacy of law over the whims of rulers -- the idea of the dignity of the individual human being and the individual conscience -- the idea of service to the poor and oppressed -- the ideas of self-government and tolerance and of nations living together in peace despite differences of belief.

I know also that the memory of Jewish persecution and suffering lends a special quality to your commitment to human rights. This organization made a major contribution to insuring that human rights became part of the Charter of the United Nations as one of its three basic purposes, along with the preservation of the peace and social and economic progress. The principal authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were Eleanor Roosevelt, an American; Charles Malik, a Lebanese Christian; and Rene Cassin, a French Jew.

Because of their work and the work of others since, no government can pretend that its mistreatment of its own citizens is solely an internal affair. These accomplishments helped start a process by which governments can be prodded toward exemplifying the ideals they have publicly professed.

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Cooperation and restraint are especially important in the area where we and the Soviets now most intensely compete -- in the race for nuclear weapons. We must bring that race under control. We are also addressing other global problems which threaten our mutual well-being and security. These include nuclear proliferation, transfers of conventional arms, and the questions of energy, food, and environment which face all nations of the world.

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Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors. All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our own country. We cannot merely be idle bystanders.

\* RECOMMEND INSERT HERE ABOUT DUAL ROLES - ISRAEL'S BEST ALLY AND MEDIATOR BETWEEN PARTIES

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I continue to believe that the key issues are the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement on final, recognized and defensible borders; and a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those questions are interrelated in complex ways, and for peace to be achieved, all will have to be resolved.

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Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace, a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory. Yet today such negotiations are within reach -- and I am proud of the progress that has been made to make this dream possible.

To improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations, mutual suspicions will have to be reduced. One source of Arab concern about Israeli intentions has been the establishment of civilian settlements in territories currently under occupation, which we consider to be in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, the Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. The continuing refusal of the Palestine

Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242, or Israel's right to exist, along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified.

SHOULDN'T THIS  
BE "AND". or  
THIS SUGGESTS  
PLO HAS OPTION  
OF ACCEPTING  
242 OR MAKING  
STATEMENT.  
ISN'T ACCEPTANCE  
OF 242 NECESSARY?

The rights of the Palestinians and the refugees must be assured, but we do not favor an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank.

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to use its influence constructively.

"INFLUENCE" MIGHT BE A BETTER WORD.  
"RESOURCES" SUGGESTS ECONOMIC AND MILITARY  
~~ECONOMIC~~ AID WHICH ~~WE~~ WE HAVE  
PROMISED NOT TO USE. NEXT PARAGRAPH  
RESTATES THAT PLEDGE.

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the <sup>\* INFLUENCE AND PRESTIGE</sup> resources of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not apply pressure to any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

Our relations with Israel will remain strong. Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grants or concessional loans. The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history. It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. It is an excellent investment for us. Our aid will continue.

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We probably face now the best opportunity for a permanent peace settlement in our lifetime. We must not let it slip away. Well meaning leaders in Israel, in the Arab nations, and indeed throughout the world are making an unprecedented and concerted effort to resolve ancient differences in the Middle East. It is not a time for personal abuse or partisanship or political demagoguery. It is a time for strong leadership and a willingness to explore carefully the intentions of others.

It is a time to use the mutual strength and the unique partnership between Israel and the United States -- and the influence of you and others who have a deep interest and concern -- to guarantee a strong and



permanently secure Israel -- at peace with her neighbors, and able to contribute her tremendous resources toward the realization of human rights and a better and more peaceful life throughout the world.

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To the house of the God of Jacob;  
So that he may teach us of his ways,  
And we will walk in his paths;  
For the law shall go forth from Zion,  
And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."  
And He shall judge among many peoples,  
And rebuke strong nations afar off;



They shall beat their swords into plowshares  
And their spears into pruning-hooks;  
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
Neither shall they learn war any more.

They shall sit every man under his vine and  
under his fig tree;

And none shall make them afraid;

For the mouth of the Lord of hosts has  
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For as all the peoples walk every one in the  
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However we may falter -- however difficult the  
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realization of that majestic prophesy.

# # #

## WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

I am deeply honored to receive this award. I accept it with a special sense of <sup>gratitude</sup> [humility] because of the organization from which it comes and the man for whom it is named.

For more than half a century Nahum Goldmann has been an intellectual and political leader and a fighter for the rights of all people. His career is proof that a man who is outspoken and controversial can still be a brilliant and effective diplomat. As the head of this organization and many others, he has played a more significant role in world affairs than many heads of state. He is stepping down from the presidency of the World Jewish Congress, but his presence will remain, for he is the kind of man whose moral authority transcends titles or offices.

The World Jewish Congress has always sought to promote human rights [for all] in a universal way. In this it is faithful to the ethical tradition from which it springs. For Jewish teaching <sup>has</sup> -- and Jewish suffering -- have] helped to create the consciousness of human rights that is now growing, (I believe,) everywhere on earth.

In large measure, the beginnings [of many] of our modern conceptions of human rights go back to the laws and the prophets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. I have been steeped in the Bible since early childhood. And I believe that anyone who reads the ancient words of the Old Testament

with sensitivity and care will find there the idea of government as something that is based on a voluntary covenant rather than force -- the idea of equality before the law and the supremacy of law over the whims of rulers -- the idea of the dignity of the individual human being and the individual conscience -- the idea of service to the poor and oppressed -- the ideas of self-government and tolerance and of nations living together in peace despite differences of belief.

I know also that the memory of Jewish persecution and suffering lends a special quality to your commitment to human rights. This organization made a major contribution to insuring that human rights became part of the Charter of the United Nations as one of its three basic purposes, along with the preservation of the peace and social and economic progress. The principal authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were Eleanor Roosevelt, an American; Charles Malik, a Lebanese Christian; and Rene Cassin, a French Jew.

Because of their work and the work of others since, no government can pretend that its mistreatment of its own citizens is solely an internal affair. These accomplishments helped start a process by which governments can be prodded toward <sup>exemplifying</sup> living up to the ideals they have publicly professed.

Our actions in the field of human rights must vary according to the appropriateness and effectiveness of one kind of action or another, but our judgments must be made according to a single standard. [That is the

point of working to establish recognized international standards of human rights.] Oppression is not [somehow] less reprehensible when its victims are blacks in South Africa or American Indians in the Western Hemisphere or Jews in the Soviet Union or dissenters in Chile or Czechoslovakia.

The <sup>public demonstration of our</sup> commitment [of the United States] to human rights is one of four major goals that my administration has set for U.S. foreign policy.

<sup>Our</sup> [My] emphasis on this first goal is already helping to overcome the crisis of the spirit which has lately afflicted the West.

Second, we are trying to build a more cooperative international system. We have consulted closely with our allies, placed relations on a new footing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and searched for new areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union. <sup>P</sup> Cooperation and restraint are especially important in the area where we and the Soviets now most intensely compete -- in the race for nuclear weapons. We must bring that race under control.

Third, <sup>also</sup> <sup>other</sup> We are addressing [some of the new] global problems which threaten our mutual <sup>well being and</sup> security. These include nuclear proliferation, transfers of conventional arms, and the questions of energy, food, and environment which face all nations of the world.

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for Preservation Purposes

Fourth, we are seeking solutions to regional conflicts that can do incalculable damage if not resolved. Our efforts to sign a new treaty with Panama are one example; bringing about peaceful change in Southern Africa is another. But none is more important than finding peace in the Middle East.

Sixty years ago today, <sup>November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1917,</sup> the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, informed Lord Rothschild of his government's support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." At that time, the idea seemed visionary and few dared to believe that it could be translated into reality. But today Israel is a vital force, an independent and democratic Jewish state, whose national existence is no longer in question and whose security is stronger than ever before. We are proud to be Israel's firm friend and closest partner.

Despite its great accomplishments, however, Israel has yet to realize the cherished goal of living in peace with its neighbors. Some would say that peace cannot be achieved because of the accumulated mistrust and the deep emotions dividing Israelis and Arabs. Some would say that we must realistically resign ourselves to the prospect of unending struggle and conflict in the Middle East.

With such an attitude of resignation, Israel would never have been created, and with such an attitude peace will not be achieved. What is needed is both vision and realism, so that strong leadership can

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Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors. All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our <sup>own</sup> country. We cannot merely be idle bystanders. Our friendships <sup>continue to</sup> and our interests require that we <sup>A</sup> devote ourselves to the cause of peace in this most dangerous region of the world.

Earlier this year, I outlined the requirements of a comprehensive peace, not in order to impose my views on the parties, but rather as a way of defining the elements of an overall settlement that would have to be achieved through detailed negotiations. <sup>FF</sup> I continue to believe that the key issues are the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement on final, <sup>and defensible</sup> recognized <sup>A</sup> borders; and a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those questions are interrelated in complex <sup>and</sup> ways, <sup>and</sup> [but] for peace to be achieved, all will have to be resolved.

Recently, our diplomatic efforts have focused on establishing a framework for negotiations so that the parties themselves will become engaged in the resolution of the many substantive issues that have

divided them for so long. We can offer our good offices as mediators. We can make suggestions, but we cannot do the negotiating.

For serious peace talks to begin, I believe that a reconvening of the Geneva Conference has become essential. All the parties have accepted the idea of comprehensive negotiations at Geneva, and agreement has been reached on several important procedural arrangements.

*Opportunity may not  
come again*

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for Preservation Purposes

Israel has shown flexibility and statesmanship in accepting the idea of a unified Arab delegation, which will include Palestinians, (for Geneva,) and in agreeing to discuss the future of the West Bank and Gaza in a working group with Jordan, Egypt, and the Palestinian Arabs. This can provide the means for the Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace, and this represents a positive and constructive step. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate without preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that <sup>others</sup> [all] must [genuinely] accept if peace talks are to <sup>succeed</sup> [proceed.]

For their part, the Arab states have also shown good faith and moderation. No longer do they refuse to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, nor do they dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past.

¶ Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace, a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory. Yet today such negotiations are within reach -- and I am proud of the <sup>progress that has been</sup> [efforts that we have] made to make this dream possible.

They recognize Israel's status as a nation. They are willing to work on bilateral peace treaties, and to form individual working groups to negotiate settlement of border and other disputes. They are willing to accept the procedural agreements hammered out in 1973 at the first Geneva Conference.

peace  
treaties  
bilateral  
working  
groups



To improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations, mutual suspicions will have to be reduced. One source of Arab concern about Israeli intentions has been the establishment of civilian settlements in territories currently under occupation, which we consider to be in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. [These unilateral acts inevitably create an impression of permanence and raise doubts about Israel's willingness to exchange territory for peace, as envisaged in UN Resolution 242.]

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, that Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. [Today, most responsible Arab leaders speak of their willingness to coexist with Israel, and we are determined to promote a peace based on solid security arrangements, not merely on professions of good will.] The continuing refusal of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242, or Israel's right to exist, along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified. [If Israel is to be asked to believe that Arab intentions have in fact changed, these obstacles to peace will also have to be removed.]

*The rights of the Palestinians and the refugees must be assured, but we do not favor an independent*

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other <sup>co</sup>-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to use its influence constructively. 5

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the resources of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not <sup>apply</sup> [unfairly] pressure any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

Our relations with Israel <sup>will remain strong.</sup> ~~have never been stronger.~~ Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grant~~s~~ or concessional loans. The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history. It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. <sup>It is an excellent investment for us.</sup> Our aid will continue.

As difficult as peace through negotiations will be in the Middle East, the alternative of stalemate and <sup>conflict</sup> [war] is infinitely worse. The costs of another war [in the Middle East] would be staggering, in both human and economic terms. Peace, by contrast, offers great hope to the peoples of the Middle East who have already contributed so much to civilization. Peace -- which must include a permanent

and secure Jewish State of Israel -- has a compelling logic for the Middle East. It could begin to bring Arabs and Israelis together in creative ways to produce a prosperous and stable region. The prospect of coexistence and of cooperation could revive the spirits of those who have for so long thought only of <sup>violence</sup> [conflict] and the hope for survival.

The idea of peace in the Middle East is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917. But it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper.

We probably face now the best opportunity for a permanent peace settlement in our lifetime. We must not let it slip away. Well meaning leaders in Israel, in the Arab nations, and indeed throughout the world are making an unprecedented and concerted effort to resolve ancient differences in the Middle East. It is not a time for personal abuse, <sup>or partisanship</sup> or political demagoguery. It is a time for strong leadership and a willingness to explore carefully the intentions of others.

It is a time to use the mutual strength

The Old Testament, that book of books which means so much to all of us, offers a vision of what that <sup>kind of</sup> peace might mean in its deepest sense. I leave you with these lines of Micah -- lines to which no summary or paraphrase could possibly do justice:

The United States -  
and the influence  
of you and  
millions of others  
who have a  
deep interest  
and concern -  
to guarantee  
a strong and  
permanently secure  
Israel - at  
peace with her  
neighbors, and  
able to contri-  
bute her tremen-  
dous [human]  
resources toward  
the realization  
of human rights  
and a better life  
throughout the  
World.

In the end of days it shall come to pass,  
That the mountain of the Lord's house shall be  
established on the top of the mountains,  
And it shall be exalted above the hills.  
Peoples shall flow unto it,  
And many nations shall come and say,  
"Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,  
To the house of the God of Jacob;  
So that he may teach us of his ways,  
And we will walk in his paths;  
For the law shall go forth from Zion,  
And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."  
And He shall judge among many peoples,  
And rebuke strong nations afar off;  
They shall beat their swords into plowshares  
And their spears into pruning-hooks;  
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
Neither shall they learn war any more.  
They shall sit every man under his vine and under  
his fig tree;  
And none shall make them afraid;  
For the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken it.  
For as all the peoples walk every one in the name  
of his god,

and more peaceful

We will walk in the name of the Lord our God  
for ever.

However we may falter -- however difficult the task --  
it is our duty to walk together toward the realization of  
that majestic prophesy.

# # #

*ask for...*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

I am deeply honored to receive this award. I accept it with a special sense of gratitude because of the organization from which it comes and the man for whom it is named.

For more than half a century Nahum Goldmann has been <sup>a scholar</sup> ~~[an intellectual]~~ and political leader and a fighter for the rights of all people. His career is proof that a man who is outspoken and controversial can still be a brilliant and effective <sup>statesman</sup> ~~[diplomat]~~. As the head of this organization and many others, he has played a more significant role in world affairs than many heads of state. He is stepping down from the presidency of the World Jewish Congress, but his presence will remain, for he is the kind of man whose moral authority transcends titles or offices.

The World Jewish Congress has always sought to promote human rights in a universal way. In this it is faithful to the ethical tradition from which it springs. For Jewish teaching helped to create the consciousness of human rights that is, I believe, now growing everywhere on earth.

In large measure, the beginnings of our modern conceptions of human rights go back to the laws and the prophets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. I have been steeped in the Bible since early childhood. And I believe that anyone who reads the ancient words of the Old Testament with sensitivity and care will find there the idea of government as something that is based on a voluntary covenant rather than force -- the idea of equality before the law and the supremacy of law over the whims of rulers -- the idea of the dignity of the individual human being and the individual conscience -- the idea of service to the poor and oppressed -- the ideas of self-government and tolerance and of nations living together in peace despite differences of belief.

I know also that the memory of Jewish persecution <sup>especially of the holocaust</sup> and ~~suffering~~ lends a special quality to your commitment to human rights. This organization made a major contribution to insuring that human rights became part of the Charter of the United Nations as one of its three basic purposes, along with the preservation of the peace and social and economic progress. The principal authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were Eleanor Roosevelt, an American <sup>Protestant</sup>, Charles Malik, a Lebanese <sup>Catholic</sup>, ~~Christian~~, and René Cassin, a French Jew.

Because of their work and the work of others since, no government can pretend that its mistreatment of its own citizens is solely an internal affair. These accomplishments helped start a process by which governments can be <sup>moved</sup> ~~propelled~~ toward exemplifying the ideals they have publicly professed.

Our actions in the field of human rights must vary according to the appropriateness and effectiveness of one kind of action or another, but our judgments must be made according to a single standard. Oppression is ~~not less~~ <sup>whether</sup> reprehensible ~~when~~ its victims are blacks in South Africa or American Indians in the Western Hemisphere or Jews in the Soviet Union or dissenters in Chile or Czechoslovakia.

The public demonstration of our commitment to human rights is one of <sup>the</sup> ~~four~~ major goals that my administration has set for U.S. foreign policy. <sup>This</sup> ~~Our~~ emphasis on human rights <sup>has raised the level of</sup> ~~concurrent~~ <sup>consciousness</sup> around the world and ~~this first goal~~ is already helping to overcome the crisis of the spirit which has lately afflicted the West.

<sup>also</sup>  
[Second,] We are <sup>also</sup> trying to build a more cooperative international system. We have consulted closely with our allies, placed relations on a new footing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and searched for new areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union — —



~~[Cooperation and restraint are]~~ especially ~~[important]~~  
in the area where we and the Soviets now most intensely  
compete -- in the race for nuclear weapons. We must <sup>halt</sup> ~~[bring]~~  
that race. ~~[under control]~~ <sup>W P</sup> We are ~~[also]~~ addressing other  
global problems which threaten ~~[our mutual]~~ <sup>the</sup> well-being  
and security <sup>of people everywhere.</sup> These include nuclear proliferation,  
transfers of conventional arms, and the questions of  
energy, food, and environment which face all nations  
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~~[Fourth]~~ <sup>also</sup> We are <sup>also</sup> seeking solutions to regional  
conflicts that can do incalculable damage if not resolved.  
Our efforts <sup>toward</sup> ~~[to sign]~~ a new treaty with Panama are one  
example; bringing about peaceful change in Southern  
Africa is another. But none is more important than  
finding peace in the Middle East.

Sixty years ago today, November 2nd, 1917, the  
British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, informed Lord  
Rothschild of his government's support for ~~the~~ establish-  
ment ~~[in Palestine]~~ of a national home for the Jewish people ~~in Palestine.~~

At that time, the idea seemed visionary and few dared  
to believe that it could be translated into reality.  
But today Israel is a vital force, an independent and  
democratic Jewish state, whose national existence is  
<sup>accepted</sup> ~~[no longer in question]~~ and whose security is stronger

At the same time we seek cooperation we recognize  
that competition is also a fact of international life and  
we will remain capable of defending the legitimate  
interests of our people.

- 5 -

than ever before. We are proud to be Israel's firm friend and closest partner— and we shall stand by Israel always.

Despite its great accomplishments, however, Israel has yet to realize the cherished goal of living in peace with its neighbors. Some would say that peace cannot be achieved because of the accumulated mistrust and the deep emotions dividing Israelis and Arabs. Some would say that we must realistically resign ourselves to the prospect of unending struggle and conflict in the Middle East.

With such an attitude of resignation, Israel would never have been created, and with such an attitude peace <sup>would</sup> ~~will~~ not be achieved. What is needed is both vision and realism, so that strong leadership can transform the hostility of the past into a peaceful and constructive future. This was the <sup>vision of the</sup> ~~success~~ <sup>Zionist movement</sup> ~~of Zionism~~ in the first generation after the Balfour Declaration; ~~and~~ it can be the <sup>achievement</sup> ~~success~~ of Israel in its second generation as an independent state.

Since becoming President, I have spent much of my time in trying to promote a peace settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors. All Americans know that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern for our own country. We cannot merely be idle bystanders.

Our friendships and our interests require that we continue to devote ourselves to the cause of peace in this most dangerous region of the world.

Earlier this year, I outlined the <sup>elements</sup>~~requirements~~ of a comprehensive peace, not in order to impose ~~my~~ our views on the parties, but rather as a way of defining some of the elements of an overall settlement <sup>which</sup>~~that~~ would have to be achieved through detailed negotiations.

I continue to believe that, the <sup>three</sup> key issues are: <sup>first</sup>, the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; <sup>second</sup>, the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement on final, recognized and ~~defensible~~ <sup>secure</sup> borders; and <sup>third</sup>, a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those questions are interrelated in complex ways, and for peace to be achieved, all will have to be resolved.

Recently, our diplomatic efforts have focused on establishing a framework for negotiations so that the parties themselves will become engaged in the resolution of the many substantive issues that have divided them for so long. We can offer our good offices as

mediators. We can make suggestions, but we cannot do the negotiating.

For serious peace talks to begin, ~~[I believe that]~~  
a reconvening of the Geneva Conference has become essential. All the parties have accepted the idea of comprehensive negotiations at Geneva, and agreement has been reached on several important procedural arrangements.

Israel has <sup>accepted</sup> ~~[shown flexibility and statesmanship in accepting]~~ for Geneva the idea of a unified Arab delegation which will include Palestinians, and <sup>has agreed</sup> ~~[in agreeing]~~ to discuss the future of the West Bank and Gaza ~~[in a working group]~~ with Jordan, Egypt, and the Palestinian Arabs. This can provide the means for the Palestinian voice to be heard in the shaping of a Middle East peace, and this represents a positive and constructive step. Israel has also repeated its willingness to negotiate without preconditions, and has stressed that all issues are negotiable, an attitude that others must accept if peace talks are to succeed.

For their part, the Arab states <sup>involved</sup> have ~~[also shown good faith and moderation. They]~~ recognized Israel's

status as a nation. They are increasingly willing to work toward peace treaties, and to form individual working groups to negotiate settlement of border and other disputes. No longer do they refuse to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, nor do they dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past.

The procedural agreements hammered out in 1973 at the first Geneva Conference will be a good basis for the reconvened conference.

Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace, a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory. Yet today such negotiations are within reach -- and I am proud of the progress that has been achieved to make this dream possible.

But to improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations, mutual suspicions must be further reduced. One source of Arab concern about Israeli intentions has been the establishment of civilian settlements in territories currently under occupation, which we consider to be in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, the Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. The continuing refusal of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242 and Israel's right to exist, along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified.

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to use its influence constructively.

We will continue to encourage a constructive solution to the Palestinian question in a framework which does not threaten the interests of any of the concerned parties, yet respects the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. The nations involved must negotiate the settlement, ~~but~~ but we ourselves do not prefer an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank.

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the <sup>influence</sup> ~~[resources]~~ of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not <sup>impose</sup> ~~[apply]~~ <sup>our will on</sup> ~~pressure to~~ any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

Our relations with Israel will remain strong. Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grants or concessional loans. The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history. It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. ~~[It is an excellent investment for us.]~~ Our aid will continue.

As difficult as peace through negotiations will be in the Middle East, the alternative of stalemate and conflict is infinitely worse. The costs of another war would be staggering, in both human and economic terms. Peace, by contrast, offers great hope to the peoples of the Middle East who have already contributed so much to civilization. Peace -- which must include a permanent and secure Jewish State of Israel -- has a compelling logic for the Middle East. It could begin to bring Arabs and Israelis together in creative ways to produce

a prosperous and stable region. The prospect of coexistence and of cooperation could revive the spirits of those who have for so long thought only of violence and the <sup>struggle</sup>~~hope~~ for survival. *Peace would lift the enormous burdens of defense, and uplift the people's quality of life.*

The idea of peace in the Middle East is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917. But it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper.

We <sup>may be facing</sup>~~probably face~~ now the best opportunity for a permanent <sup>Middle East</sup> peace settlement in our lifetime. We must not let it slip away. Well meaning leaders in Israel, in the Arab nations, and indeed throughout the world are making an unprecedented and concerted effort to resolve <sup>deep-seated</sup>~~ancient~~ differences in the Middle East. <sup>This</sup>~~It~~ is not a time for personal <sup>criticism</sup>~~abuse~~ or partisanship or political demagoguery. It is a time for strong leadership and a willingness to explore carefully the intentions of others.

It is a time to use the mutual strength and the unique partnership between Israel and the United States -- and the influence of you and others who have a deep interest and concern -- to guarantee a strong and



permanently secure Israel -- at peace with her neighbors, and able to contribute her tremendous resources toward the realization of human rights and a better and more peaceful life throughout the world.

The Old Testament [~~that book of books which means so much to all of us~~] offers a vision of what that kind of peace might mean in its deepest sense. I leave you with these lines of Micah -- lines to which no summary or paraphrase could possibly do justice:

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In large measure, the beginnings of our modern conceptions of human rights go back to the laws and the prophets of the Judeo-Christian tradition. I have been steeped in the Bible since early childhood. And I believe that anyone who reads the ancient words of the Old Testament with sensitivity and care will find there the idea of government as something that is based on a voluntary covenant rather than force -- the idea of equality before the law and the supremacy of law over the whims of rulers -- the idea of the dignity of the individual human being and the individual conscience -- the idea of service to the poor and oppressed -- the ideas of self-government and tolerance and of nations living together in peace despite differences of belief.

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I continue to believe that, the <sup>three</sup> key issues are: first, the obligations of peace, including the full normalization of political, economic and cultural relations; second, the establishment of effective security measures, coupled to Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and agreement on final, recognized and ~~defensible~~ <sup>secure</sup> borders; and <sup>third,</sup> a resolution of the Palestinian question. Those questions are interrelated in complex ways, and for peace to be achieved, all will have to be resolved.

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status as a nation. They are increasingly willing to work toward peace treaties, and to form individual working groups to negotiate settlement of border and other disputes. No longer do they refuse to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, nor do they dispute Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure of how far we have come from the intransigent positions of the past.

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On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, the Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. The continuing refusal of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242 and Israel's right to exist, along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified.

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We will continue to encourage a constructive solution to the Palestinian question in a framework which does not threaten the interests of any of the concerned parties, yet respects the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. The nations involved must negotiate the settlement, but but we ourselves do not prefer an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank.

Negotiations will no doubt be prolonged and often difficult. But we are in this to stay. I will personally be prepared to use the <sup>influence</sup> ~~resources~~ of the United States to help the negotiations succeed. We will not <sup>impose</sup> ~~apply~~ <sup>our will on</sup> ~~pressure to~~ any party, but we will constantly encourage and try to assist the process of conciliation.

Our relations with Israel will remain strong. Since 1973, we have provided \$10 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, of which more than two-thirds was in the form of direct grants or concessional loans. The magnitude of this assistance is without parallel in history. It has greatly enhanced Israel's economic health and her military strength. ~~[It is an excellent investment for us.]~~ Our aid will continue.

As difficult as peace through negotiations will be in the Middle East, the alternative of stalemate and conflict is infinitely worse. The costs of another war would be staggering, in both human and economic terms. Peace, by contrast, offers great hope to the peoples of the Middle East who have already contributed so much to civilization. Peace -- which must include a permanent and secure Jewish State of Israel -- has a compelling logic for the Middle East. It could begin to bring Arabs and Israelis together in creative ways to produce

a prosperous and stable region. The prospect of coexistence and of cooperation could revive the spirits of those who have for so long thought only of violence and the <sup>struggle</sup> ~~hope~~ for survival. *Peace would lift the enormous burdens of defense, and uplift the people's quality of life.*

The idea of peace in the Middle East is no more of a dream today than was the idea of a national home for the Jewish people in 1917. But it will require the same dedication that made Israel a reality and has allowed it to grow and prosper.

We <sup>may be facing</sup> ~~probably face~~ now the best opportunity for a permanent <sup>Middle East</sup> peace settlement in our lifetime. We must not let it slip away. Well meaning leaders in Israel, in the Arab nations, and indeed throughout the world are making an unprecedented and concerted effort to resolve <sup>deep-seated</sup> ~~ancient~~ differences in the Middle East. <sup>This</sup> ~~It~~ is not a time for personal <sup>criticism</sup> ~~abuse~~ or partisanship or political demagoguery. It is a time for strong leadership and a willingness to explore carefully the intentions of others.

It is a time to use the mutual strength and the unique partnership between Israel and the United States -- and the influence of you and others who have a deep interest and concern -- to guarantee a strong and

permanently secure Israel -- at peace with her neighbors, and able to contribute her tremendous resources toward the realization of human rights and a better and more peaceful life throughout the world.

The Old Testament [~~that book of books which means so much to all of us~~] offers a vision of what that kind of peace might mean in its deepest sense. I leave you with these lines of Micah -- lines to which no summary or paraphrase could possibly do justice:

In the end of days it shall come to pass,  
That the mountain of the Lord's house shall  
be established on the top of the mountains,  
And it shall be exalted above the hills.  
Peoples shall flow unto it,  
And many nations shall come and say,  
"Come, let us go up to the mountain of the  
Lord,  
To the house of the God of Jacob;  
So that he may teach us of his ways,  
And we will walk in his paths;  
For the law shall go forth from Zion,  
And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."  
And He shall judge among many peoples,  
And rebuke strong nations afar off;

They shall beat their swords into plowshares  
And their spears into pruning-hooks;  
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
Neither shall they learn war any more.

They shall sit every man under his vine and  
under his fig tree;

And none shall make them afraid;

For the mouth of the Lord of hosts has  
spoken it.

For as all the peoples walk every one in the  
name of his god,

We will walk in the name of the Lord our  
God for ever.

However we may falter -- however difficult the  
task -- it is our duty to walk together toward the  
realization of that majestic prophesy.

# # #

status as a nation. They are <sup>increasingly</sup> willing to work ~~on~~  
~~toward~~ ~~bilateral~~ peace treaties, and to form individual  
working groups to negotiate settlement of border and  
other disputes. ~~They are willing to accept~~ <sup>the</sup>  
procedural agreements hammered out in 1973 at the  
first Geneva Conference. ~~no longer~~ do they refuse  
to sit down at the negotiating table with Israel, nor  
do they dispute Israel's right to live within secure  
and recognized borders. That must be taken as a measure  
of how far we have come from the intransigent positions  
of the past.

*will be a good basis for the reconvened conference.*

Even a year ago the notion of Israelis and Arabs  
engaging in face-to-face negotiations about real peace,  
a peace embodied in binding treaties, seemed illusory.  
Yet today such negotiations are within reach -- and I  
am proud of the progress that has been <sup>achieved</sup> ~~made~~ to make  
this dream possible.

But to improve the atmosphere for serious negotiations,  
mutual suspicions ~~will have to~~ <sup>must</sup> be <sup>further</sup> reduced. One source  
of Arab concern about Israeli intentions has been the  
establishment of civilian settlements in territories  
currently under occupation, which we consider to be in  
violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

On the Arab side, much still needs to be done to remove the suspicions that exist in Israel about Arab intentions. It was not so long ago, after all, the Arab demands were often expressed in extreme and sometimes violent ways. Israel's existence was constantly called into question. The continuing refusal of the Palestine Liberation Organization to accept UN Resolution 242, and ~~for~~ Israel's right to exist, along with the resort to violence and terror by some groups, provides Israelis with tangible evidence that their worst fears may in fact be justified.

*We will continue to encourage a constructive solution*

~~The rights of the Palestinians and the refugees to the Palestinian question in a framework which does not threaten must be assured, but [We] do not [favor] an independent~~ *the interests of any of the concerned parties, yet respects the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. The nations involved must negotiate the settlement, but we ourselves*  
*prefer*  
Palestinian state on the West Bank.

Differences naturally persist, not only between Arabs and Israelis, but among the Arab parties themselves. We are actively engaged in an effort to narrow these differences so that Geneva can be reconvened, and we have called on the other co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, to use its influence constructively.



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WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS  
NOVEMBER 2, 1977

1

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

CHMN PHIL KLUTZNIK  
PRES DR NAHUM GOLDMAN

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I AM DEEPLY HONORED TO RECEIVE THIS <sup>MEDAL</sup> ~~AWARD~~•

I ACCEPT IT WITH A SPECIAL SENSE OF GRATITUDE BECAUSE  
OF THE ORGANIZATION FROM WHICH IT COMES AND THE MAN  
FOR WHOM IT IS NAMED•

FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY NAHUM GOLDMANN HAS  
BEEN A SCHOLAR AND POLITICAL LEADER AND A FIGHTER FOR  
THE RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLE• HIS CAREER IS PROOF THAT  
A MAN WHO IS OUTSPOKEN AND CONTROVERSIAL CAN STILL  
BE A BRILLIANT AND EFFECTIVE STATESMAN• AS THE HEAD  
OF THIS ORGANIZATION AND MANY OTHERS,

HE HAS PLAYED

HE HAS PLAYED A MORE SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS  
THAN MANY HEADS OF STATE. HE IS STEPPING DOWN  
FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS,  
BUT HIS PRESENCE WILL REMAIN, FOR HE IS THE KIND OF MAN  
WHOSE MORAL AUTHORITY TRANSCENDS TITLES OR OFFICES.

THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS HAS ALWAYS SOUGHT TO  
PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN A UNIVERSAL WAY. IN THIS  
IT IS FAITHFUL TO THE ETHICAL TRADITION FROM WHICH IT  
SPRINGS. FOR JEWISH TEACHING HELPED TO CREATE  
THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT IS, I BELIEVE,  
NOW GROWING EVERYWHERE ON EARTH.

IN LARGE MEASURE, THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR MODERN  
CONCEPTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS GO BACK TO THE LAWS AND  
THE PROPHETS OF THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION.

I HAVE BEEN STEEPED IN THE BIBLE SINCE EARLY CHILDHOOD.  
AND I BELIEVE THAT ANYONE WHO READS THE ANCIENT WORDS  
OF THE OLD TESTAMENT WITH SENSITIVITY AND CARE WILL  
FIND THERE THE IDEA OF GOVERNMENT AS SOMETHING THAT IS  
BASED ON A VOLUNTARY COVENANT RATHER THAN FORCE --  
THE IDEA OF EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW AND THE SUPREMACY OF  
LAW OVER THE WHIMS OF RULERS -- THE IDEA OF THE DIGNITY  
OF THE INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEING AND THE INDIVIDUAL  
CONSCIENCE -- THE IDEA OF SERVICE TO THE POOR AND  
OPPRESSED -- THE IDEAS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND TOLERANCE  
AND OF NATIONS LIVING TOGETHER IN PEACE DESPITE  
DIFFERENCES OF BELIEF.

I KNOW ALSO THAT THE MEMORY OF JEWISH PERSECUTION,  
ESPECIALLY OF THE HOLOCAUST, LENDS A SPECIAL QUALITY  
TO YOUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

THIS ORGANIZATION MADE

THIS ORGANIZATION MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO INSURING THAT HUMAN RIGHTS BECAME PART OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS ONE OF ITS THREE BASIC PURPOSES, ALONG WITH THE PRESERVATION OF THE PEACE AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WERE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, AN AMERICAN PROTESTANT, CHARLES MALIK, A LEBANESE CATHOLIC, AND RENÉ CASSIN, A FRENCH JEW.

BECAUSE OF THEIR WORK AND THE WORK OF OTHERS SINCE, NO GOVERNMENT CAN PRETEND THAT ITS MISTREATMENT OF ITS OWN CITIZENS IS SOLELY AN INTERNAL AFFAIR. THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS HELPED START A PROCESS BY WHICH GOVERNMENTS CAN BE MOVED TOWARD EXEMPLIFYING THE IDEALS THEY HAVE PUBLICLY PROFESSED.

OUR ACTIONS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS MUST VARY  
ACCORDING TO THE APPROPRIATENESS AND EFFECTIVENESS  
OF ONE KIND OF ACTION OR ANOTHER, BUT OUR JUDGMENTS  
MUST BE MADE ACCORDING TO A SINGLE STANDARD.  
OPPRESSION IS REPREHENSIBLE, WHETHER ITS VICTIMS ARE  
BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA OR AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE  
WESTERN HEMISPHERE OR JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION OR POLITICAL  
DISSENTERS IN CHILE OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THE PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION OF OUR COMMITMENT TO  
HUMAN RIGHTS IS ONE OF THE MAJOR GOALS THAT MY  
ADMINISTRATION HAS SET FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.  
THIS EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS RAISED THE LEVEL  
OF CONSCIOUSNESS AROUND THE WORLD AND IS ALREADY  
HELPING TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS OF ~~THE~~ SPIRIT WHICH HAS  
LATELY AFFLICTED THE WEST.

WE ARE ALSO TRYING TO BUILD A MORE COOPERATIVE  
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. WE HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY  
WITH OUR ALLIES, PLACED RELATIONS ON A NEW FOOTING  
IN AFRICA, ASIA, AND LATIN AMERICA, AND SEARCHED FOR  
NEW AREAS OF COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION --  
ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA WHERE WE AND THE SOVIETS NOW MOST  
INTENSELY COMPETE -- IN THE RACE FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS.  
WE MUST HALT THAT RACE. \* AT THE SAME TIME WE SEEK  
COOPERATION WE RECOGNIZE THAT COMPETITION IS ALSO A  
FACT OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND WE WILL REMAIN CAPABLE  
OF DEFENDING THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF OUR PEOPLE.

WE ARE ADDRESSING OTHER GLOBAL PROBLEMS WHICH  
THREATEN THE WELL-BEING AND SECURITY OF PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.  
THESE INCLUDE NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, TRANSFERS OF  
CONVENTIONAL ARMS, AND THE QUESTIONS OF ENERGY,  
FOOD, AND ENVIRONMENT WHICH FACE ALL NATIONS OF  
THE WORLD.



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WE ARE ALSO SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO REGIONAL CONFLICTS  
THAT <sup>COULD</sup> ~~CAN~~ DO INCALCULABLE DAMAGE IF NOT RESOLVED.

OUR EFFORTS TOWARD A NEW TREATY WITH PANAMA ARE ONE  
EXAMPLE; BRINGING ABOUT PEACEFUL CHANGE IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA IS ANOTHER. BUT NONE IS MORE  
IMPORTANT THAT FINDING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SIXTY YEARS AGO TODAY, NOVEMBER 2nd, 1917, THE  
BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY, LORD BALFOUR, INFORMED  
LORD ROTHSCHILD OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT FOR THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE  
IN PALESTINE. AT THAT TIME, THE IDEA SEEMED  
VISIONARY AND FEW DARED TO BELIEVE THAT IT COULD BE  
TRANSLATED INTO REALITY. BUT TODAY ISRAEL IS A VITAL  
FORCE, AN INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC JEWISH STATE,  
WHOSE NATIONAL EXISTENCE IS ACCEPTED AND WHOSE  
SECURITY IS STRONGER THAN EVER BEFORE.

WE ARE PROUD

WE ARE PROUD TO BE ISRAEL'S FIRM FRIEND AND CLOSEST  
PARTNER -- AND WE SHALL STAND BY ISRAEL ALWAYS.

DESPITE ITS GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS, HOWEVER,  
ISRAEL HAS YET TO REALIZE THE CHERISHED GOAL OF  
LIVING IN PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. SOME WOULD  
SAY THAT PEACE CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BECAUSE OF THE  
ACCUMULATED MISTRUST AND THE DEEP EMOTIONS DIVIDING  
ISRAELIS AND ARABS. SOME WOULD SAY THAT WE MUST  
REALISTICALLY RESIGN OURSELVES TO THE PROSPECT OF  
UNENDING STRUGGLE AND CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

WITH SUCH AN ATTITUDE OF RESIGNATION, ISRAEL  
WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN CREATED, AND WITH SUCH AN  
ATTITUDE PEACE WOULD <sup>NEVER</sup> ~~NOT~~ BE ACHIEVED. WHAT IS  
NEEDED IS BOTH VISION AND REALISM, SO THAT STRONG  
LEADERSHIP CAN TRANSFORM THE HOSTILITY OF THE PAST

INTO A PEACEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE FUTURE. THIS WAS  
THE VISION OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT IN THE FIRST  
GENERATION AFTER THE BALFOUR DECLARATION; IT CAN  
BE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ISRAEL IN ITS SECOND GENERATION  
AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

SINCE BECOMING PRESIDENT, I HAVE SPENT MUCH  
OF MY TIME IN TRYING TO PROMOTE A PEACE SETTLEMENT  
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER ARAB NEIGHBORS. ALL  
AMERICANS KNOW THAT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS  
OF VITAL CONCERN FOR OUR OWN COUNTRY.  
WE CANNOT MERELY BE IDLE BYSTANDERS. OUR FRIENDSHIPS  
AND OUR INTERESTS REQUIRE THAT WE CONTINUE TO DEVOTE  
OURSELVES TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THIS MOST DANGEROUS  
REGION OF THE WORLD.

EARLIER THIS YEAR,

EARLIER THIS YEAR, I OUTLINED THE ELEMENTS OF A  
COMPREHENSIVE PEACE, NOT IN ORDER TO IMPOSE OUR  
VIEWS ON THE PARTIES, BUT RATHER AS A WAY OF DEFINING  
SOME OF THE ELEMENTS OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT WHICH  
WOULD HAVE TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS.

I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE THREE KEY ISSUES  
ARE: FIRST, THE OBLIGATIONS OF <sup>REAL</sup> PEACE, INCLUDING  
THE FULL NORMALIZATION OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND  
CULTURAL RELATIONS; SECOND, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
EFFECTIVE SECURITY MEASURES, COUPLED TO ISRAELI  
WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND AGREEMENT  
ON FINAL, RECOGNIZED AND SECURE BORDERS; AND,  
THIRD, A RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION.  
<sup>ISSUES</sup>  
THOSE ~~QUESTIONS~~ ARE INTERRELATED IN COMPLEX WAYS,  
AND FOR PEACE TO BE ACHIEVED, ALL WILL HAVE TO BE  
RESOLVED.

RECENTLY, OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS HAVE FOCUSED  
ON ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS SO THAT  
THE PARTIES THEMSELVES WILL BECOME ENGAGED IN THE  
RESOLUTION OF THE MANY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES THAT HAVE  
DIVIDED THEM FOR SO LONG. WE CAN OFFER OUR GOOD  
OFFICES AS MEDIATORS. WE CAN MAKE SUGGESTIONS,  
BUT WE CANNOT DO THE NEGOTIATING.

FOR SERIOUS PEACE TALKS

FOR SERIOUS PEACE TALKS TO BEGIN, A  
RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE HAS BECOME  
ESSENTIAL. ALL THE PARTIES HAVE ACCEPTED THE  
IDEA OF COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA,  
AND AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT  
PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS.

ISRAEL HAS ACCEPTED FOR GENEVA THE IDEA  
OF A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION WHICH WILL INCLUDE  
PALESTINIANS, AND HAS AGREED TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE  
OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WITH JORDAN, EGYPT, AND  
THE PALESTINIAN ARABS. THIS CAN PROVIDE THE MEANS  
FOR THE PALESTINIAN VOICE TO BE HEARD IN THE SHAPING  
OF A MIDDLE EAST PEACE, AND THIS REPRESENTS A  
POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE STEP. ISRAEL HAS ALSO  
REPEATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT  
PRECONDITIONS, AND

PRECONDITIONS, AND HAS STRESSED THAT ALL ISSUES  
ARE NEGOTIABLE, AN ATTITUDE THAT OTHERS MUST ACCEPT  
IF PEACE TALKS ARE TO SUCCEED.

FOR THEIR PART, THE ARAB STATES INVOLVED HAVE  
~~ACCEPTED~~  
~~RECOGNIZED~~ ISRAEL'S STATUS AS A NATION. THEY ARE  
INCREASINGLY WILLING TO WORK TOWARD PEACE TREATIES,  
AND TO FORM INDIVIDUAL WORKING GROUPS TO NEGOTIATE  
SETTLEMENT OF BORDER AND OTHER DISPUTES. NO  
LONGER DO THEY REFUSE TO SIT DOWN AT THE NEGOTIATING  
TABLE WITH ISRAEL, NOR DO THEY DISPUTE ISRAEL'S  
RIGHT TO LIVE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS.  
THAT MUST BE TAKEN AS A MEASURE OF HOW FAR WE  
HAVE COME FROM THE INTRANSIGENT POSITIONS OF THE  
PAST.

THE PROCEDURAL AGREEMENTS HAMMERED OUT IN  
1973 AT THE FIRST GENEVA CONFERENCE WILL BE A  
GOOD BASIS FOR

GOOD BASIS FOR THE RECONVENED CONFERENCE•

EVEN A YEAR AGO THE NOTION OF ISRAELIS AND  
ARABS ENGAGING IN FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT  
REAL PEACE, A PEACE EMBODIED IN BINDING TREATIES,  
SEEMED ILLUSORY• YET TODAY SUCH NEGOTIATIONS  
ARE WITHIN REACH -- AND I AM PROUD OF THE PROGRESS  
THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED TO MAKE THIS DREAM POSSIBLE•

BUT TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR SERIOUS  
NEGOTIATIONS, MUTUAL SUSPICIONS MUST BE FURTHER  
REDUCED• ONE SOURCE OF ARAB CONCERN ABOUT  
ISRAELI INTENTIONS HAS BEEN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS IN TERRITORIES CURRENTLY UNDER  
OCCUPATION, WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE IN VIOLATION  
OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION•

ON THE ARAB SIDE,



ON THE ARAB SIDE, MUCH STILL NEEDS TO BE  
DONE TO REMOVE THE SUSPICIONS THAT EXIST IN ISRAEL  
ABOUT ARAB INTENTIONS. IT WAS NOT SO LONG AGO,  
AFTER ALL, THAT ARAB DEMANDS WERE OFTEN EXPRESSED  
IN EXTREME AND SOMETIMES VIOLENT WAYS. ISRAEL'S  
EXISTENCE WAS CONSTANTLY CALLED INTO QUESTION.  
THE CONTINUING REFUSAL OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION  
ORGANIZATION TO ACCEPT UN RESOLUTION 242 AND  
ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, ALONG WITH THE RESORT TO  
VIOLENCE AND TERROR BY SOME GROUPS, PROVIDES  
ISRAELIS WITH TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT THEIR WORST  
FEARS MAY IN FACT BE JUSTIFIED.

DIFFERENCES NATURALLY PERSIST, NOT ONLY  
BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAELIS, BUT AMONG THE ARAB  
PARTIES THEMSELVES. WE ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED

IN AN EFFORT

IN AN EFFORT TO NARROW THESE DIFFERENCES SO THAT  
GENEVA CAN BE RECONVENED, AND WE HAVE CALLED  
ON THE OTHER CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE,  
THE SOVIET UNION, TO USE ITS INFLUENCE  
CONSTRUCTIVELY•

WE WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE A CONSTRUCTIVE  
SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IN A FRAMEWORK  
WHICH DOES NOT THREATEN THE INTERESTS OF ANY OF  
THE CONCERNED PARTIES, YET RESPECTS THE LEGITIMATE  
RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS• THE NATIONS INVOLVED  
MUST NEGOTIATE THE SETTLEMENT, BUT WE OURSELVES  
DO NOT PREFER AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE  
ON THE WEST BANK•

NEGOTIATIONS WILL NO

NEGOTIATIONS WILL NO DOUBT BE PROLONGED AND  
OFTEN DIFFICULT. BUT WE ARE IN THIS TO STAY.  
I WILL PERSONALLY BE PREPARED TO USE THE INFLUENCE  
OF THE UNITED STATES TO HELP THE NEGOTIATIONS SUCCEED.  
WE WILL NOT IMPOSE OUR WILL ON ANY PARTY, BUT  
WE WILL CONSTANTLY ENCOURAGE AND TRY TO ASSIST  
THE PROCESS OF CONCILIATION.

OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL WILL REMAIN STRONG.  
SINCE 1973, WE HAVE PROVIDED \$10 BILLION IN  
MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID TO ISRAEL, OF WHICH  
MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS WAS IN THE FORM OF DIRECT  
GRANTS OR CONCESSIONAL LOANS. THE MAGNITUDE  
OF THIS ASSISTANCE IS WITHOUT PARALLEL IN HISTORY.  
IT HAS GREATLY ENHANCED ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC HEALTH  
AND HER MILITARY STRENGTH. OUR AID WILL CONTINUE.

AS DIFFICULT AS

AS DIFFICULT AS PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS  
WILL BE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE ALTERNATIVE OF  
STALEMATE AND CONFLICT IS INFINITELY WORSE.  
THE COSTS OF ANOTHER WAR WOULD BE STAGGERING,  
IN BOTH HUMAN AND ECONOMIC TERMS. PEACE, BY  
CONTRAST, OFFERS GREAT HOPE TO THE PEOPLES OF THE  
MIDDLE EAST WHO HAVE ALREADY CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH  
TO CIVILIZATION. PEACE -- WHICH MUST INCLUDE  
A PERMANENT AND SECURE JEWISH STATE OF ISRAEL --  
HAS A COMPELLING LOGIC FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. IT  
COULD BEGIN TO BRING ARABS AND ISRAELIS TOGETHER  
IN CREATIVE WAYS TO PRODUCE A PROSPEROUS AND  
STABLE REGION. THE PROSPECT OF COEXISTENCE  
AND OF COOPERATION COULD REVIVE THE SPIRITS OF  
THOSE WHO HAVE FOR SO LONG THOUGHT ONLY OF  
VIOLENCE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. PEACE

WOULD LIFT THE

<sup>SOME OF</sup>  
WOULD LIFT <sup>^</sup>THE ENORMOUS BURDENS OF DEFENSE,  
AND UPLIFT THE PEOPLE'S QUALITY OF LIFE.

THE IDEA OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NO MORE  
OF A DREAM TODAY THAN WAS THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL  
HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN 1917. BUT IT WILL  
REQUIRE THE SAME DEDICATION THAT MADE ISRAEL  
A REALITY AND HAS ALLOWED IT TO GROW AND PROSPER.

WE MAY BE FACING NOW THE BEST OPPORTUNITY  
FOR A PERMANENT MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT IN OUR  
LIFETIME. WE MUST NOT LET IT SLIP AWAY. WELL  
MEANING LEADERS IN ISRAEL, IN THE ARAB NATIONS,  
AND INDEED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ARE MAKING AN  
UNPRECEDENTED AND CONCERTED EFFORT TO RESOLVE  
DEEP-SEATED DIFFERENCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THIS IS NOT A TIME

THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR INTEMPERANCE OR PARTISANSHIP.  
IT IS A TIME FOR STRONG AND RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP  
AND A WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE CAREFULLY AND  
THOUGHTFULLY THE INTENTIONS OF OTHERS.

IT IS A TIME TO USE THE MUTUAL STRENGTH AND THE  
UNIQUE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE  
UNITED STATES -- AND THE INFLUENCE OF YOU AND  
OTHERS WHO HAVE A DEEP INTEREST AND CONCERN --  
TO GUARANTEE A STRONG AND PERMANENTLY SECURE  
ISRAEL -- AT PEACE WITH HER NEIGHBORS, AND ABLE  
TO CONTRIBUTE HER TREMENDOUS RESOURCES TOWARD  
THE REALIZATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND A BETTER AND  
MORE PEACEFUL LIFE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE OLD TESTAMENT OFFERS A VISION OF WHAT  
THAT KIND OF PEACE MIGHT MEAN IN ITS DEEPEST SENSE.

I LEAVE YOU

I LEAVE YOU WITH THESE LINES OF MICAH -- LINES  
TO WHICH NO SUMMARY OR PARAPHRASE COULD POSSIBLY  
DO JUSTICE:

BUT IN THE LAST DAYS IT SHALL COME TO PASS,

THAT THE MOUNTAIN OF THE HOUSE OF THE  
LORD SHALL BE ESTABLISHED IN THE TOP  
OF THE MOUNTAINS,

AND IT SHALL BE EXALTED ABOVE THE HILLS®

AND PEOPLE SHALL FLOW UNTO IT,

AND MANY NATIONS SHALL COME, AND SAY,

"COME, AND

"COME, AND LET US GO UP TO THE MOUNTAIN  
OF THE LORD,

AND TO THE HOUSE OF THE GOD OF JACOB;

AND HE WILL TEACH US OF HIS WAYS,

AND WE WILL WALK IN HIS PATHS;

FOR THE LAW SHALL GO FORTH FROM ZION,

AND THE WORD OF THE LORD FROM JERUSALEM."

AND HE SHALL JUDGE AMONG MANY PEOPLE,

AND REBUKE STRONG NATIONS AFAR OFF;

AND THEY SHALL



AND THEY SHALL BEAT THEIR SWORDS INTO  
PLOWSHARES,

AND THEIR SPEARS INTO PRUNING-HOOKS;

NATION SHALL NOT LIFT UP A SWORD AGAINST  
NATION,

NEITHER SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANY MORE•

BUT THEY SHALL SIT EVERY MAN UNDER HIS VINE  
AND UNDER HIS FIG TREE,

AND NONE SHALL MAKE THEM AFRAID;

FOR THE MOUTH OF THE LORD OF HOSTS HAS  
SPOKEN IT•

FOR ALL PEOPLE

FOR ALL PEOPLE WILL WALK EVERY ONE IN  
THE NAME OF HIS GOD,

AND WE WILL WALK IN THE NAME OF THE LORD,  
OUR GOD, FOR EVER AND EVER.

MICAH 4:1-5

HOWEVER WE MAY FALTER -- HOWEVER DIFFICULT  
THE PATH -- IT IS OUR DUTY TO WALK TOGETHER  
TOWARD THE FULFILLMENT OF THAT MAJESTIC PROPHECY.

# # #

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